THE 'H' ON THE HAT IS FOR HYDROGEN—AND HORROR
Grim strollers in Hyde Park rally Londoners against the Bomb

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IS SURVIVAL SUBVERSIVE?

Witch-hunt quiz of Pauling halted by angry protests

THE U.S. WAS NARROWLY saved last week from seeing some of its most distinguished scientists being led into an arena where they could be baited by its most primitive politicians.

A subpena had already been served on Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning biochemist of the California Inst. of Technology, summoning him to appear before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, on June 18. Dr. Pauling was to be asked "if Communist organizations are behind" the petition he circulated among scientists calling for an international agreement to ban the testing of nuclear weapons.

DR. LINUS PAULING
The final indignity

He had gathered 2,000 signers for that petition, including the nation's top geneticist, Nobel laureate Dr. H. J. Muller, about 40 members of the Natl. Academy of Sciences, one of the nation's top atomic physicists who worked on the early developments of the Bomb, Dr. Ralph Lapp, and a distinguished list of biochemists and physiologists.

SUSPICION PLANTED: The warning was grave: "Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."

Other scientists in the U.S. and abroad had issued similar grim cautions but this was the first time so large and so distinguished a group of U.S. scholars and technicians had taken joint action against a policy by all three nuclear powers. Government circles were outraged and accused the scientists of going outside their fields in opposing political policies though these involved forces which only physicists, geneticists and biochemists were trained to estimate.

President Eisenhower was the first to sling mud. In his press conference of June 5 he said: ". . . I noticed that in many instances scientists that seem to be out of their own field of competence are getting into this argument [on nuclear weapons testing], and it looks like almost an organized affair." When pressed by reporters he added: "I didn't say a wicked organization." But the suspicion was planted.

A DEEP "PLOT": The Senate Internal Security subcommittee subpenaed Dr. Pauling who told reporters he "welcomed" the chance to inform the Senators "about the dangers of atomic wars and fallout radiation."

Committee counsel Robert Morris made it clear the committee was uninterested in such information; they wanted to know what was "behind" the petition and who assisted in circulating it. Most newspapers headlined the Pauling petition as if it were an enemy plot. Columnists revealed Dr. Pauling's past services to peace and his defense of civil liberties as if it

(Continued on Page 8)

FBI FILES NO LONGER INVIOLATE

High Court tears the top off Edgar's Pandora's box

By Lawrence Emery

FOR YEARS FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has battened on the myth—accepted in many quarters as gospel—that his ways, like God's, are inscrutable. On June 3 the Supreme Court ruled that at least some of the ways of the FBI, and other investigative agencies of the government, are open to scrutiny by mortal men.

In a 7 to 1 decision in the case of trade unionist Clinton E. Jencks, the Court held that if the Government puts an FBI informer on the stand in a criminal prosecution, it must make available to the defense that informer's reports to the FBI on matters testified about. If the government refuses to give a defendant such a fair shake, then the Court allows it the alternative of dismissing the case and dropping the charges.

Jencks, a former officer of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union in New Mexico, was convicted on two counts of filing a false non-communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Law. Two major witnesses against him were Harvey Matusow and J. W. Ford, both former Communist Party members in the pay of the FBI. The trial judge denied a defense motion to direct the government to produce their reports to the FBI for inspection and use in cross-examination.

CLARK and PANDORA: The majority opinion was written by Justice William J. Brennan Jr. In a separate opinion, Justices Harold H. Burton and John M. Harlan concurred in the decision for a new trial but based their reversal of the lower court on errors in the trial judge's instructions to the jury. On the major issue, they would have been content merely with directing the trial judge to pass on the relevancy of the secret reports. Justice Charles E. Whittaker did

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BRITAIN'S TRADE DECISION OPENS THE DOOR

Will U. S. review China policy?

By Kumar Goshal

BRITAIN'S DECISION to expand her China trade—immediately following the anti-U.S. demonstration in Taiwan —exposed the absurdity of Washington's entire China policy. There were strong repercussions to the British announcement throughout the world, and some surprising ones in the U.S.

For 18 months Britain had been trying to persuade the Eisenhower administration to review its China trade policy. Only last month a reluctant Washington gave the go-ahead signal to Chincom (Consultative Committee for Commerce with China), a NATO group, to discuss expansion of Western trade with China. The Paris discussions reached a deadlock May 29 when the U.S. refused to sanction more than minor trade relaxation.

The following day British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd told Parliament that Britain would henceforth be guided in her China trade by the regulations governing her trade with the Soviet Union.

WHAT IS RELEASED: The British decision freed 207 items on the Chincom list forbidden to be sold to China. Among them: some machine tools, electric motors and generators; rubber-working machinery; most motor vehicles and tractors; most railway locomotives, rolling stock and other railroad equipment; some precision scientific instruments; rubber, automobile tires and various chemical products.

Despite the U.S.-influenced Western embargo, China has not been prevented from buying abroad some of the articles she needed; nor have all Western countries been prevented from some discreet trade with China. Even Japan and Taiwan have been increasingly ignoring the

(Continued on Page 10)

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REPORT TO READERS

Cross-country salute

IT IS ALWAYS STIMULATING to meet GUARDIAN readers and Guardian angels and discuss current affairs. It is especially exciting to meet them far from the home base, for such experiences are rather rare for GUARDIAN staff members. Queries, answers and arguments then pour forth in torrents, and the hours from sundown to sunup seem entirely too brief to fully satisfy the hunger for information and exchange of opinions on both sides.

I have just returned from one of these rare experiences, meeting and talking with our readers and friends from coast to coast. It was heartwarming to feel the friendly interest in and devotion to the GUARDIAN demonstrated by our supporters—both intellectually and financially—even when they faced difficulties of their own. Despite the words we managed to squeeze into the hours when we met, I am afraid many questions still remained unanswered and many ideas remained unspoken. I hope they can be aired in the pages of the GUARDIAN in the future.

IT WAS REFRESHING to hear so many readers compliment the paper, not only for its content but also for its lively makeup and presentation. It was also heartening to find large numbers of alert young people attending the meetings, and taking part in the discussions following the talks with such keen interest.

On behalf of my colleagues and myself I want to thank all those who came to the GUARDIAN gatherings; the friends who extended to me the GUARDIAN Angels' proverbial warm hospitality, and my hosts who showed so much consideration for me. Special thanks to those who organized these meetings—Isabel Van Frank in San Francisco, Tiba Willner in Los Angeles, Mike Baker in Minneapolis, Tillie Segadelli in Detroit—and those in Albuquerque, Chicago and elsewhere.

I hope I will be seeing you all again soon.

—Kumar Goshal

•

THIS WEEK, for reasons which we regretfully have to accept, a cherished name comes off the masthead above. Tiba Willner, who has been the GUARDIAN's official representative of the paper in Los Angeles for five years, will no longer be able to serve in that capacity. But that does not mean, as she put it, "that I will not continue to help the paper in every way, and try to get other people to help too—the GUARDIAN is part of my life."

The devotion that Tiba has for the paper was demonstrated these last five years for all in the Los Angeles area to see. Her tireless efforts—and her desire to keep on as a voluntary worker—have made her name a beloved one in the GUARDIAN office. We know that all our readers will be as pleased as we are to know that Tiba will still be there in our corner.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

"Little Monster" Lies

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

"Right where safety-conscious scientists wanted it!"

That's the spot in which the "atomic little monster" that "flashed, flamed and thundered over the Nevada desert" May 28 dropped its radio-active fall-out, according to an **AP** dispatch in the May 29 Los Angeles **Times.** You can always trust the Atomic Energy Commission.

Less than 12 hours later, however, the "atomic little monster" had run amuck. The **Mirror-News,** afternoon "liberal" edition of the **Times,** announced that the fall-out "was a greater distance from the test site than ever before," that the mushrooming smoke from the atomic blast had floated high over Reno, Nev., and Quincy, Calif., which latter community is 400 miles northwest of Las Vegas, and over both places had released its fall-out which, of course, according to the AEC spokesman, was not "dangerous or alarming."

According to the second of the **AP** stories, the atomic blast's mushroom split into three clouds and these drifted about with unexpected results.

In Quincy, reported Sam Jackson, information officer for the California Disaster Office, the "atomic little monster" raised the normal Geiger counter average of four clicks per minute to 10,000! "Exciting" but not "alarming."

How long will it be before the people completely reject any of AEC's judgments on atomic tests as well as the disgustingly editorialized press reports covering the same? **Reuben W. Borough**

Concept of God

ORANGEBURG, S. C.

One test of psychologic maturity is whether you can violently disagree with a person and not feel any personal resentment against him in a frank and open discussion of your differences. The "anti-God"-this and "Godless"-that type of argument, of course, would tend only to reveal emotional thinking since the essence of the "anti-God" label is hostile and aggressive "name-calling." Whether we are aware of it or not, this obsessive-compulsive trait of scapegoating in the name of the Almighty has probably done more to create and perpetuate international tensions than any other propaganda device.

For an example of the role which organized religion plays in the creation of "split personalities" and their anti-social urges, see **Look,** Jan. 10, 1956, under the title "Russia Against God," by Justice William O. Douglas. Many similar cases may be cited, including Harry S. Truman, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Billy Graham, President Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover, Sen. Knowland, George Sokolsky, the former Commander of the American Legion, the Pope of Rome—literally hundreds of other outstanding personalities none of whom seem ever to learn how to evaluate the genetical composition of their own concept of God.

H. F. Haas

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

FOR SALE—PETS

ROSIE — Smart affectionate mother; will pay have spayed; 5 kittens; best white home offered. LI 7-2595.

—Classified ad in Washington **Star,** 5/26

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: T. K. Hedrick, Washington, D.C.

The countess steps down

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

The Countess Fortescue has been compelled to resign from the presidency of the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Devon branch, because, as a member of a leading west country sporting family, she refuses to admit that stags positively do enjoy being hunted to death. Recent cases, when stags have been chased over cliffs and dashed to pieces on the rocks below, and another case when a stag's lungs burst after being hunted for 12 miles, have aroused widespread indignation among animal lovers all over the country. **Rhoda Clarke**

Credit for Kahn

AUSABLE FORKS, N. Y.

Liberty Book Club, in a mailing, is appealing to **Guardian** readers to join Liberty. In the Liberty circulars, in a highly deserved tribute by Carl Marzani to Angus Cameron, the statement is made that "Liberty has published originally Ring Lardner, Jr., Richard Boyer, Herbert Aptheker, Eve Merriam, Joseph Starobin, Herbert Morais, Alvah Bessie, Royal France and many others." It is only fair to state that Liberty did not publish "originally" Lardner, Boyer, nor Morais, for these authors were first published by the firm of Cameron & Kahn, which had no connection whatever with Liberty Books and of which Mr. Marzani was not a member. It was for the firm of Cameron & Kahn that I designed the colophon now somehow appropriated by Cameron Associates.

But perhaps more serious a failure to bestow due honor is the omission of the name of Albert Kahn as the man who, through patient encouragement, Christian forgiveness and unflagging devotion over many months, "brought the truth out of Harvey Matusow in **False Witness,** the most important single blow against the infamous informer system."

Liberty Book Club, to which I am a subscriber, is too worthwhile an enterprise to permit itself such published lapses from the truth.

Rockwell Kent

Carl Marzani writes: "Mr. Kent's letter is well taken as regards Albert Kahn's fine contribution to the publication of **False Witness.** I certainly had no desire to claim any credit for that book. I was only giving due credit to Angus Cameron, and unwittingly and unintentionally slighted Mr. Kahn. Cameron Associates did publish all the other authors under the C&K colophon as a matter of agreement between Cameron Associates and Cameron & Kahn and, therefore, I should have said: "Under Mr. Cameron's leadership the following authors were originally published, etc." Such was my intent. May I thank Mr. Kent for his fine words on Liberty Book Club."

Young Guardians

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y.

We all realize that our children should be given more of an understanding about the happenings in the world today. Having two pre-teen age children, I strongly feel the need of forming a group where they'll be able to discuss current events on their level with others their own age, under the guidance of a capable chairman. I would like through the GUARDIAN to hear from other parents in the Corona-Jackson Hts., Elmhurst and Sunnyside areas how they feel about forming a "Young Folks Guardian Club," for children 10-14 years old. **Edith Friedheim**

Wall Street Journal

"Looks like another 'full day'—you have four luncheon engagements."

The way of silence

LAKEWOOD, FLA.

I did not like the last paragraph of your editorial in the May 20 issue. "Of the dead say nothing but good," is a decent attitude, though I would add, "at the time of death." Later on, in historical perspective, the evil may be exhumed if it serves a good purpose. Well, as you can tell, I'm the kind who deplored the use of the bomb on Hiroshima **at the time it was used.** Maybe my moral sensibilities are too acute? I believe the way must be found through faith and hope and love—never violence of our own volition, in word or deed.

No apologetics for McCarthy, of course. Just silence would be my way. **Name Withheld**

Preachments

NORRISTOWN, PA.

Not the book, but the sermon therein: We do not wish anybody's death, but must seek the destruction of all forms of McCarthyism and all anti-social doctrines and preachments and, incidentally, the manner of preachment too and, above all, the forcing it on anybody against his will and interest. **—G.**

A poet on tour

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Several months ago you were generous enough to publish a communication from me about a cross-country speaking tour the poet, Walter Lowenfels, was then about to embark on. Your readers may be interested to know that of the 26 appearances he made during the eight-week tour, which included churches, universities, public meeting places, etc., several house affairs resulted from the communication you published. The enclosed contribution is from an audience in the Far West who wish in this way to express appreciation for your having called their attention to Mr. Lowenfel's "entertaining and stimulating presentation of **The Folklore and Song Traditions of American Poetry.**" **Anne Whittier**

American refugees

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The U. S. government is on the quick in supplying millions of dollars to Hungarians running away from Hungary, while American medical research has literally to go begging to provide some money for scientists in their efforts to stamp out disease. American medical research scientists are not receiving proper support from the government in this respect, and the American people are being let down.

We have our own refugees on their own land. The American Indian has been subjected to robbery, oppression, poverty and neglect nearly to the point of extinction. The American Indian needs education desperately in order to compete with the white man; without ample education this man of nature cannot survive in the city.

And stop robbing his land under any guise.

R. D.

Over Olathe

OLATHE, COLO.

Guided missiles sometimes pass over my house, as many as six in a day, after which we do not have any sunshine for two weeks or longer and a lot of storms such as an April snow this year. And the thermometer dipped to 16 last time. **B. Broyles**

Quality amid conformity

DORSET, VT.

As old readers of Anna Louise Strong we wish to continue with the change-over to your paper. Some very fine things have appeared in the GUARDIAN of late, especially those of Dr. DuBois, highlights of sterling quality in this age of conformity.

Edith & Carl T. Ramsey

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

STALLING ON THE HOUSE FLOOR

Jury trial issue is big snag in fight for civil rights bill

AFTER MORE THAN five months of organized delay, the Eisenhower Administration's mild civil rights bill finally reached the floor of the House of Representatives for debate on June 6. Even then it was a day later than it might have been because the Dixiecrats by maneuver slowed things up for an extra 24 hours.

Under a "rule" adopted by the House on a vote of 290 to 117, the bill will be subjected to four days of general debate to be followed by amendments without limit. The date of final voting on the measure will depend upon the staying power of the Southerners and the number of amendments they propose. The amendment stage was expected to be reached by June 11.

Even as debate opened, stalling tactics were apparent. Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) gained more time for his side by a parliamentary point of order which was discussed for nearly an hour before Speaker Sam Rayburn, himself a Texan, ruled against him.

BACK TO TAFT: Biggest fight in the House will be over a Southern proposal to grant jury trials to persons held in contempt for failing to obey Federal court orders against interference with civil rights. Although it is firmly fixed in both tradition and law that courts have the power to enforce their own orders, the jury trial issue raised by Southerners has attracted considerable support from Northerners and Westerners generally regarded as liberal.

The Administration was slow in meeting this issue, but on June 3 Atty. Gen. Brownell wrote to three members of Congress opposing the jury trial proposal and quoting President William Howard Taft in 1908: "The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

KEFAUVER TOO: But the Administration's stand was not made known until after the Senate Judiciary Committee which, under the chairmanship of Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), has been quietly filibustering against the bill, attached the jury trial amendment by a vote of 7 to 3. Two liberal Democrats, Sens. Joseph O'Mahoney (Wyo.) and Estes Kefauver (Tenn.), and one Republican, Sen. John Marshall Butler (Md.), joined with the four Dixiecrats on the committee to adopt the amendment. Five committee members were absent from the meeting.

There was no indication that the committee will report even an amended bill to the Senate floor and there was increased talk last week that an attempt will be made to by-pass the committee by voting immediate Senate consideration of whatever version of the bill is adopted by the House. But this step, which can be accomplished by a simple majority vote, is rarely taken because it is contrary to Senate tradition. Even if it is done, the bill will immediately run into a determined Southern filibuster.

Backers of civil rights legislation had expressed confidence all along that the House would act favorably on the measure, but some of the confidence began to wane before it got to the House floor. On May 29 83 House Democrats had signed a petition calling upon Republicans to join them in efforts to defeat crippling amendments.

THE MIDDLEMEN: Even Democratic ranks were divided and on June 7 Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) won considerable applause from his colleagues when he violently attacked Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) for a letter he had written all Representatives in support of the bill. Powell had written: "As a final word to Democrats, let me say that the Colored voters of the North are fed up with weak platforms and watered-down legislation. They are increasingly asking the question, 'Why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they must take their orders from the middlemen who serve the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi and Alabama?"

Said Hayes to House applause: "There is no person in the United States, in my opinion, who is doing more to divide Negro citizens from other citizens than the gentleman from New York."

On June 1 the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., with some 3,000 members in 15 Southern and border states, issued a statement urging Congress to "give full support to the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill free from crippling amendments."

Herblock in Washington Post
"FLY!"

TRADE UNIONISTS FEEL THE STING

Attack on Fifth Amendment goes on despite the Court

ALTHOUGH the Supreme Court in a recent unanimous ruling vigorously reaffirmed the high position of the Fifth Amendment as a "shield for the innocent," persons around the country last week were still being punished for invoking it and Congressional committees showed no let-up in their search for what have come to be known as "Fifth Amendment communists."

Newest victims are members of the official trade union movement, once regarded as a firm defender of the nation's civil liberties. First breach of this traditional labor stand came with the embarrassing probe of corruption in some parts of the labor movement. The AFL-CIO, placed on the defensive, adopted a code that made use of the Fifth Amendment in the Senate probe an almost automatic cause for removal from union office. Congressional probers have now succeeded in extending this reaction to use of the Fifth Amendment in witch-hunting expeditions.

UAW INVESTIGATION: For some weeks Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee has been questioning minor officers of the United Auto Workers headed by Walter Reuther, who has been most self-righteous in denouncing Dave Beck's sins and demanding his ouster. The teamsters' union, in turn, has been red-bating Reuther. By May 28 the Eastland committee had turned up seven UAW functionaries who invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned on their political beliefs or associations.

On that day subcommittee counsel Robert Morris called public attention to the fact that the seven had been discovered "with no action taken yet by the AFL-CIO." Sen. Eastland said: "I hope there is no double standard between Beck and these people."

A week later Walter Reuther sent a ten-page "administrative letter" to all UAW locals prescribing union trials for "these people." The letter conceded that some rank-and-file members might have compelling personal reasons for invoking the Amendment, but that officeholders would have to prove their innocence.

HEARING ORDERED: He wrote: "When a member of the UAW holding either elective or appointive office chooses to use the Fifth Amendment, the matter is no longer purely personal, for such member's holding of a union office immediately and inescapably involves the union as an organization in the matter.

"Under these circumstances, the union as an organization must take steps to protect itself by determining beyond a doubt whether the member is eligible to hold a position of leadership in the union as a result of his personal decision to use the Fifth Amendment."

Such a member must appear at a hearing by the local union executive board and unless he can present "clear and sufficient evidence that he is beyond a doubt not disqualified from holding office under the provisions of the AFL-CIO ethical practices codes and the UAW constitution, he shall be removed from all offices held by him, either elective or appointive, and such offices shall be declared vacant."

PRESUMPTIVE GUILT? Four of the seven members condemned by the Eastland subcommittee belong to the big Ford Local 600. Carl Stellato, president of the local, has announced that they will be called to hearings in their local units, but said: "I want to make it clear that if the theory advanced in this letter is one of presumptive guilt with a member being forced to prove his innocence because of his usage of the U.S. Constitution, then it is in itself in direct contradiction to the well-established legal principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty."

On June 7 one of the seven, a member of a Chrysler local, was ordered removed from his office by the local's president.

The Supreme Court ruling on the Fifth Amendment, which was handed down in a criminal case involving tax fraud, said "the privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances." It quoted this statement by Harvard Law School dean Edwin N. Griswold: "Too many, even those who should be better advised, view this privilege as a shelter for wrongdoers. They too readily assume that those who invoke it are either guilty of crime or commit perjury in claiming the privilege."

"NO SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES": In a separate concurring opinion, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices William O. Douglas, William J. Brennan Jr. and Hugo L. Black went even further. Their opinion, written by Justice Black, said: "I can think of no special circumstances that would justify use of a Con-

stitutional privilege to discredit or convict a person who asserts it. The value of these Constitutional privileges is largely destroyed if a person can be penalized for relying on them. It seems peculiarly incongruous and indefensible for courts which exist and act only under the Constitution to draw inferences of lack of honesty from invocation of a privilege deemed worthy of enshrinement in the Constitution."

But the attacks on the Fifth Amendment continue. On June 5 Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), who is conducting the labor corruption probe, announced that he will seek contempt citations against two witnesses whom he contends made "frivolous" use of the Fifth Amendment, and that he will propose a "corrective" Constitutional amendment if the courts fail to uphold him.

SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 13: On June 6 the Pennsylvania State Senate passed and sent to the Governor a bill which would make Pennsylvanians who invoked the Fifth Amendment in "subversive" hearings ineligible for unemployment compensation.

The latest excursion of the Eastland subcommittee into the labor movement came on June 6 when two members of the AFL-CIO Intl. Assn. of Machinists were called and invoked the Fifth Amendment on all political questions. One of the two, Sterling Neal of Louisville, Ky., is the first Negro appointed to the Grand Lodge staff of the IAM. Neal and two others have since been dismissed as organizers by the IAM.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is also planning a major excursion to the San Francisco Bay Area on June 18, this time to investigate "infiltration into the professions." Some 49 subpenas have already been issued and include lawyers, artists, playwrights, actors, physicians, teachers, architects, social workers, musicians and newspapermen.

The last such expedition of the House committee to Baltimore resulted in the loss of employment for 14 trade unionists, the threat of disbarment proceedings against a lawyer, and rocks thrown through the windows of two other "Fifth Amendment witnesses."

THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER JORDAN

The Arab liberation drive—a man or a movement?

By Tabitha Petran
Special to the GUARDIAN
CAIRO, EGYPT

"DOWN WITH the Eisenhower Doctrine!" . . . "No Doctrine or $ in Our Arab World!" Such are the election posters strung along the streets of Cairo and painted on mud huts in the villages as Egypt's first election since 1949 draws near. Few candidates dare espouse U.S. policy, and candidates outdo each other to avoid any U.S. taint. In Port Said, a man described as an "American Embassy candidate" is most vociferous in insisting: "We will never forget Bulganin's ultimatum and Soviet aid."

Some months ago, when the Doctrine was first proclaimed, it was different. "Then," a writer recalled, "along with 'Use Palmolive,' we were urged to 'Read the Doctrine.' Reaction was never so blatant. The streets were plastered with signs advertising the Doctrine while cinema shorts urged us to rush to the U.S. Information Office to get our copy." But Jordan, and the opportunity for popular expression offered by the election campaign, brought a change.

There is little tendency here to minimize the defeat suffered by the Arab liberation movement in Jordan or the danger in which Egypt and Syria stand today. But Jordan has clarified the situation in

Toronto Globe & Mail
"Well, back to the old drawing board!"

the whole Middle East. Jordan, progressives here say, was lost by compromise—the result of confusion over the apparent adherence of Jordan's King Hussein and Saudi Arabia's King Saud to "positive neutrality." The confusion has been dispelled. Egypt's powerful "Voice of the Arabs" radio now strongly attacks both Hussein and Saud, and the Egyptian government seems to have lost all illusions about Saud. Egyptians refer to him as "the No. 1 American agent."

WHO'S ISOLATING WHOM? In the West, the U.S. drive to isolate Egypt may appear to be making headway. But actually, instead of isolating Egypt, U.S. policy seems successful here only in isolating the reactionary and feudal ruling groups from the people. Basing its policy on the same outworn groups on which British imperialism relied, American imperialism, Arabs believe, is proving hopelessly out of date. When the British were on top, there was no political consciousness in the Arab world, no Soviet Union, China or India. To try to build on such people as Iraq's Premier Nuri As Said, Hussein and Saud is, Egyptians say, "to build on corpses."

The most important result of the application of the Eisenhower Doctrine in Jordan may be that it has finally lost the U.S. the middle classes of the Arab world. These were once strongly pro-American. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt were heroes. After World War II the middle classes accepted the U.S. Point 4 program—only to find it gave them nothing. Now they feel there is no hope for them with America.

NASSER'S CONCEPT: The Western attempt to reduce the Arab liberation movement to one man—Egypt's President Nasser—has blinded it to one of the most vital forces in the world today. Here, it is plain enough that the Egyptian revolution is not a man but an anti-imperialist movement.

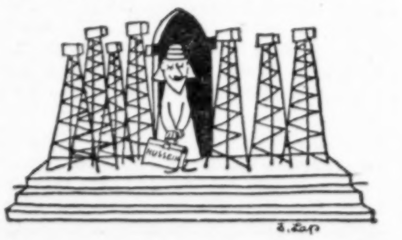
Nasser's concept is to make the Arab world a neutral and independent bloc. This, Arab progressives believe, suits the present stage of development of the Arab world. Nasser is an historical phenomenon; in this sense, the progressives believe, it will not be as easy for imperialism to destroy him as it did Mossadegh in Iran in 1953. Iran was alone; Nasser is at the center of a sea of resurgent nationalism. The more the imperialists attack him the greater is his strength with the people. And even if imperialism should succeed in removing him, the liberation movement would go on.

SITUATION IN LEBANON: Proof of the magnetism of the Arab liberation movement is offered by recent developments in Lebanon. This tiny country of some 2,000,000 has grown rich largely on brothels, smuggling, white slave traffic and other forms of transit trade. About 90% of its revenue comes from foreigners, chiefly Americans. Lebanon has long been regarded as safely in Washington's pocket. Its acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine was taken for granted.

Yet the people rebelled against this decision and, before the June 9 elections, a national opposition movement developed powerful enough to close down most shops and business in the country in a three-day general strike. The strike was called to protest the government's refusal to permit formation of a neutral cabinet to supervise the elections, a demand sparked by brutal government measures against opposition supporters and the reportedly lavish use of Iraqi dinars and American dollars to keep the government in power. Killing of demonstrators and arrest of 1,000 or more underlined for the whole Arab world the fact that imperialism and its allies, as the Cairo paper **Al Shaab** pointed out, can "only resort to steel and fire to try to put out the flame of Arab nationalism." When news of the killings reached Cairo, Egyptians commented: "Now even Lebanon has its martyrs."

The real struggle in Lebanon today is between those who want to keep the country's present status as a port and health resort for the West, and a rising class which wants to industrialize Lebanon and develop it as a part of an independent unified Arab market and federation.

SITUATION IN TUNISIA: Tunisian developments also demonstrate the attraction of the Arab liberation movement. Vice President Nixon, reporting on his



Canard Enchaine, Paris
Group photo of the new Jordanian cabinet

African tour, called Tunisian Prime Minister Habib Bourghiba "a man upon whom we can rely." American propagandists have made great efforts to build up Bourghiba, whom they describe as "a moderate nationalist," as a counter to Nasser. But Bourghiba's position in Tunisia is already proving to be built upon sand.

IT'S NOT POLITE TO POINT
Especially when you have a Doctrine up your sleeve. Above, President Eisenhower's roving Ambassador Richards (r.) reports to Chairman Green of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his tour of the Middle East.

In 1954 the then French Prime Minister Mendes-France sought to save the French Empire from the twin dangers of American imperialism and Arab nationalism. He offered Tunisia internal autonomy but required that Tunisia retain French currency and permit stationing of French troops. Bourghiba, then in a French jail, accepted this formula for "independence." Another Tunisian independence leader, Salah Ben Yussef (now in exile in Cairo) rejected it. He saw the Tunisian revolt as a part of the great anti-colonial upheaval of Asia and Africa. He was determined to continue the fight for complete liberation.

When he became Premier, Bourghiba made many promises—to get the Algerian war settled, to get more money from France for internal improvements, to get greater independence. But the French failed to answer his pleas, the Algerians would have nothing to do with his "settlement" formulas, and internal unrest grew. Finally, Bourghiba turned to the U.S., proclaimed his support of the Eisenhower Doctrine, and his opposition to positive neutrality. His reward was a bare $3,000,000 from Doctrine salesman James P. Richards—and this at a time when France, angered by Bourghiba's flirtation with the U.S., cut off economic aid.

Observers here consider Bourghiba's subsequent threats to follow the Egyptian and Syrian example and to seek aid from the U.S.S.R. an effort to blackmail the U.S. Yet the very fact that he has been forced to make such threats and his decision to pay Nasser a visit show the liberation movement's basic strength.

SAUD'S POSITION: If the U.S. perhaps has succeeded in isolating Egypt geographically, it has not been able to do so politically and morally. Even King Saud, neutral diplomats here believe, will not go all out for the Eisenhower Doctrine and openly break with Egypt and Syria. Saud needs at least a semblance of good relations with these countries (1) because he needs Syrian oil pipelines and the Suez Canal; (2) for political prestige, since Egypt is so important in the Middle East; (3) because Egyptian pilgrims are the most numerous of those who make annual pilgrimages to Mecca; (4) Saud's ambition to head up the oil bloc the U.S. is trying to build is unlikely to be fulfilled since Iraq is more important and Saud can be isolated in his peninsula; (5) relations between the kings of Arabia, Jordan and Iraq resemble those among gangsters and Saud is not likely to trust his new-found friends too far.

Furthermore, both Egypt and Syria are taking steps to protect themselves from American policy. These steps include:

- Moves to consolidate economic relations between the two countries which, it is hoped, will lead to wide-scale trade exchanges and eventually to the economic unity of the two countries.
- The National Fronts in both countries are trying to consolidate and to establish relations with each other.
- Both countries are trying to reestablish relations with Britain to counter U.S. pressure. For this reason the British decision to lift the embargo on China has had great impact here.

In sum, it may be said that Nasser's position in the Middle East has not been appreciably weakened by the Eisenhower Doctrine. But the most severe tests probably lie ahead and the most urgent problem for Egypt appears to be the creation of an organized popular base to defend and develop the liberation movement.

Foreign born celebrations in N.Y. and Chicago

NEW YORK and Chicago defenders of the rights of foreign-born are having celebrations this weekend, following the Supreme Court decisions in the George Witkovich and Antonia Sentner cases which substantially nullify the supervisory parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran immigration law. The decisions free approximately 300 persons under supervisory parole while awaiting deportation from restrictions on activities and associations and attempts to make them testify about others.

The Chicago celebration is set for Sat., June 22, at 7 p.m., at Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Witkovich is a Chicagoan. Mrs. Sentner will be a guest speaker. The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which is sponsoring the Chicago affair, is also fighting the Fisher, Minerich and Bartl denaturalization cases; deportation proceedings against Steve Tandaric and denial of re-entry to Rodolfo Lozoya, Mexican-born Chicago resident.

New York's victory event is the annual Festival and Picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sun., June 23, at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J. Tickets and bus transportation arrangements may be obtained at the ACPFB office, 49 E. 21 St. The picnic will feature sports, folk singing led by Betty Sanders and foods of all nations.

Another ACPFB victory was announced June 10 by the Supreme Court, which ordered reargument of the appeal of Mrs. Stella Brown of Detroit from a contempt sentence for refusing under the Fifth Amendment to inform on her family and friends. The contempt sentence came during a denaturalization proceeding which is under separate appeal.

THE FLOWERS THAT BLOOM IN PEKING, TRA-LA . . .

The great socialist reappraisal in China

By Elmer Bendiner

EVER SINCE the Hungarian explosion last fall the Left all over the world has been trying to solve tormenting riddles: Does socialism, born out of conflicts, end them all? Can a socialist government tolerate "loyal opposition" or is any move to criticize or reform a people's government, by definition, an act against the people? What future has political democracy under socialism?

In the Kremlin Soviet CP Secy. Khrushchev, appearing on the Columbia Broadcasting System's program **Face The Nation, June 2**, gave one answer. In effect he declared the people and the government one and indivisible under socialism. When CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr asked whether any contradictions between the people and the government existed in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev said: "We believe that we have no contradictions of that nature."

A few weeks earlier, in an interview with Turner Catledge, managing editor of the N. Y. **Times**, Khrushchev gave this formula for re-educating those dissidents whom he described as "pseudo-communists":

"It will perhaps be in place here to draw a comparison with a company of marching soldiers. The entire company is marching in step, but one soldier cannot keep in step with the others. This soldier must drop out of the ranks and trail behind until he learns to march. That is the procedure in the army. And we adhere to the same procedure in questions of Marxism-Leninism."

SCHOOLS AND FLOWERS: In Peking the matter of contradictions was being discussed too, but the comparisons were not with soldiers marching but with flowers blooming. The national watchword was a rallying cry to diversity: "Let 100 flowers blossom together and 100 schools of thought contend." Chairman Mao Tse-tung has advised the commanders of the revolution eight years after victory: "You must get down from your horses to look at the flowers." The nature-loving Chinese added a warning against weed-hunters who can tear up a garden. A CP statement said:

"Among the flowers there will be weeds. Why worry? This is common in farming. You never have flowers or grain without weeds. But you must learn to distinguish. Let them grow together and the people will be able to tell which is which. You can't prohibit weeds and we must develop our theories in free competition."

There was an obvious difference between Peking and Moscow where, for reasons of historical development and political climate perhaps, the gardening and the weeding have been rougher. Analysts in the U. S. saw in that difference disunity for the socialist world. Actually China's Premier Chou En-lai, in his deft diplomatic tour to calm Eastern Europe's nerves after Hungary, made it clear that unity of the socialist world was the keystone of China's foreign policy.

THE BIG DIFFERENCE: But the philosophic argument, however removed from the power-play approach of Western writers, is still vital to the Left. The Khrushchev view is that even 40 years after the Bolshevik revolution most social conflicts can still be reduced to revolution vs. counter-revolution.

HOWDY, PARDNER—PEKING STYLE

A representative of the capitalists of China presents to Chairman Mao (light cap) a letter announcing the successful transformation of China's industry to socialism—and they all had tea.

Khrushchev, in the fateful and still officially unconfirmed report to the Soviet CP 20th Congress, reproached Stalin for insisting that the class war became intensified as socialism progressed. Certainly, rightly or wrongly, the Soviet leaders saw counter-revolution in most political disagreements and acted accordingly. The Chinese Communists, after eight years in power, have concluded that for all effective purposes the class enemy has been routed within China.

Early this year Mao made several "off-the-cuff" speeches to the Supreme State Council and to an enlarged meeting called by the Chinese CP, which have been put on tape and played to millions around the country, although no written text is available. In it he outlined the conflicts that still remain after a socialist victory. Alan Winnington summed them up in the London **Daily Worker**:

". . . . differences of opinion or interests between the people and their government; different sections of the people; mental and manual workers; individual and collective needs; correct and incorrect policies and questions in the realm of ideas."

"DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP": The question was how to handle such conflicts—in the Chinese view apparently inevitable under socialism or any other system, and apparently here to stay. Winnington paraphrased Mao: "For the people to dictate to themselves is an obvious absurdity."

On May 2 Peking **People's Daily** quoted from a book "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" written in 1949 in which Mao said: ". . . . these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship for the reactionaries, when combined, constitute the people's democratic dictatorship."

The same editorial condemned the "blind, unaware and absolute attitude which means . . . to maintain a one-sided view by emphasizing unity and unanimity within socialist society, and the correctness and authority of the leadership . . ."

The editorial was part of a vast mental, moral and physical shake-up proclaimed on April 30 in a CP directive to "rectify the style of work." That style had plainly undergone changes since the austere wartime communes in the caves of Yennan. In 15 years party membership had risen from 800,000 to 12,000,000. Some 60% had joined the CP since the revolution and there was evidence of what the **People's Daily** called a "growing interest in personal honor status and various kinds of privilege." In a sense, the "rectification campaign" was a summons back to first principles.

HOW IT WORKS IN CHINA: The scholarly Vice Premier Kuo Mo-jo, interviewed by J.-M. Hermann, editor of the French left-wing Socialist montly **Cahiers Internationaux**, said: "Since the creation of the People's Republic of China we have always considered as an important problem the expansion of democracy; this perhaps is a difference with other countries . . ." He said that unlike the Soviet Union China had many parties (eight or nine). He outlined the Chinese mechanics for democracy: a Consultative Political Assembly, which he compared to an "upper chamber" in the Western sense, representing all political parties, popular organizations, national minorities and overseas Chinese; the Assembly of People's Representatives, equivalent to the "lower house," elected by universal suffrage. The lower house (2,226 delegates), the "real democratic organism of the country," decides the composition of the government.

Each house meets in one full session a year and has corresponding chambers at work on provincial, district and communal levels. Each legislator is required to spend two months traveling about the country with full access to all governmental information and facilities anywhere. Kuo said this served two purposes: (1) to keep local administrators on their toes and (2) to give the legislators contact with the people, enabling them to bring back their criticisms to the central government. "With us," said Kuo, "a leader cannot stay in the clouds."

THEY WORK TOGETHER: The CP itself convenes yearly, with delegates to the Congress chosen by popular vote for five-year terms. Many high-ranking government officials and large numbers of administrative workers are not party members. Kuo said: "Thus, though Marxism is the guiding philosophy, and the Communist Party the leading party in China, nevertheless there is complete democracy in the country. Other people can participate in the tasks of government. That is different from the Soviet Union and many other countries. We do not have contempt for the democrats but work together with them . . ."

According to the CP directive the current program of "rectification"—sometimes called "brainwashing" by Western reporters — should be a "movement of ideological education carried out seriously, yet as gently as a breeze or a mild rain . . . criticism should not be imposed upon a person who does not accept it . . . the right to reserve differences must be permitted."

WHERE POWER LIES: The Chinese idea of blooming diversity stems not from a gentle, easy revolutionary history. The Chinese CP fought bitterly for decades and did not blink the stern military necessities of revolution. Chinese Communists talk of democracy from a genuine "position of strength." In discussing the intellectuals Kuo told Hermann:

"The most important point is that the power is in the hands of the people. Therefore we have the possibilities of utilizing experiences from all phases of history. We can absorb and utilize all cultural riches. Those which can serve us are adopted at once. The others are discussed among the people . . . As for the bad ones, it is enough to reject them . . .

"As for the few intellectuals whose ideology is pernicious, truly we are not afraid of them. We are very strong. We hope that they will be able to reform themselves. If that is impossible, then at least we can utilize the useful part of their knowledge . . . They cannot help but change . . . Our policy is to allow intellectuals to express themselves freely, to actively support their cultural initiatives. That will be useful to the country. Even if it were harmful, one must not be afraid of it, because one must be sure of the force of truth."

MORE BLOSSOMS NEEDED: These were parts of the picture of China in the midst of her ideological springtime: Philosophers held a three-day conference and condemned dogmatism. Peking University opened classes in Keynesian economics. Communist and non-Communist professors debated Marxism in the pages of the **People's Daily**. Students at the University of Tientsin struck for three days against extension of certain courses. CP activists talked to them and settled on the strikers' terms. The right to strike was explicitly upheld. Mao was reported favoring the relaying of "some material" from the Voice of America into China "so that everyone can compare what the enemy says with what the party says." Peng Chen, first secy. of the CP's Peking Committee said: "The main problem at present is that not enough flowers have blossomed and the diverse schools have not contended enough."

As a triumphant blow against the bureaucrats, the CP directive on rectification urged every able-bodied chair warmer to volunteer for some regular physical work at a nearby plant or farm. **Hsinhua**, the Chinese news agency, reported: "The directive suggested a number of jobs that could be handled by personnel above the rank of magistrate. Such work included weeding, repairing, water-carrying, road and dyke repairing . . . collecting and carting manure."

It's your ball, Lord . . .

. . . He [Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota] told me this fascinating story about President Eisenhower. Mrs. Judd was having a visit with Mrs. Eisenhower who told her, "Ike goes into bed, lies back on the pillow, and prays out loud, something like this: 'Lord, I want to thank You for helping me today. You really stuck by me. I know, Lord, that I muffed a few and I'm sorry about that. But both the ones we did all right and the ones we muffed I am turning them all over to You. You take over from here. Good night, Lord, I'm going to sleep.' And," added the President's wife to Mrs. Judd, "that is just what he does; he just turns over and goes to sleep . . ."

Norman Vincent Peale, December, 1956,
as quoted by **The New Republic**, June 3, 1957

THEY CAN FIND VINDICATION THROUGH MORTON SOBELL

Memorial to the Rosenbergs

Four years ago this week, a vindictive government took the lives of two young American parents on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage, despite worldwide appeals for clemency. Convicted with them and sentenced to an eternity in Alcatraz prison was a young scientist, Morton Sobell, whose fight for justice goes on today. For humane people all over the world the continuing effort for freedom or a new trial for Sobell embodies an unyielding determination also to clear the Rosenbergs' name.

Author of the famed amicus curiae brief signed by thousands in 1952-'53 in behalf of the Rosenbergs to the Supreme Court—and author since of a similar brief for Sobell—venerable attorney Dr. Royal Wilbur France has just written an autobiography, My Native Grounds, *in which separate chapters are devoted to the Rosenberg and Sobell cases. (*My Native Grounds *is the Liberty Book Club selection for July. Members may obtain the book for $2.37; others from Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23 St., N.Y.C., for $4.75.)*

The following article on the Sobell case by Dr. France is a condensation of Chapter 25 of My Native Grounds.

By Royal W. France

THE LIVES of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were snuffed out legally in that late afternoon of June 19, 1953, but the case was far from over. That night, throughout America and throughout the world, thoughtful people were saddened, and frightened, for in the death of the Rosenbergs the hysteria that had hold of America reached its height. It had happened! That was the unalterable truth of the matter, but the other and greater truth might still have its day. All the parties to the Rosenberg trial were not snuffed out with them, and there was one especially on whom hope was now placed for the establishment of the Rosenbergs' innocence and his own.

MORTON and HELEN SOBELL
Justice has a way . . .

He was Morton Sobell, the young man whose fortunes had become inextricably tied with theirs. With them he had stood accused. He now languishes in Alcatraz, the Federal prison reserved for the most dangerous prisoners, under a thirty-year sentence.

If the case against the Rosenbergs was flimsy, as many who examined it believed, the one against Sobell was as thin as a slice of boarding house beef. The hopeful fact was that he was still alive, and that if reconsideration could be won for his case not only might vindication follow for him but light might at the same time be thrown on the Rosenberg case. Both sides to the debate about the guilt or innocence of the Rosenbergs were aware of the importance of the Sobell case to the whole, which accounted both for the difficulty of getting the case brought to public attention again and for the zeal with which consideration of the case, and a rehearing, were sought by many prominent persons—and not only Americans.

THE ONE WHO took it upon herself to establish Morton Sobell's innocence, though heaven and hell had to be aroused to do it, was his wife, young Helen Sobell. In the history of this period, the devotion and untiring labor of the wives of some of the victims of the cold war hysteria will stand out as a tribute to the character of the imprisoned men. Their women gave all they had to get them freed, and Morton Sobell's wife was, and is, among the bravest of that brave band.

I met her when she came to ask me to present an **amicus** brief to the Supreme Court on behalf of her husband. She is an alert, dark-haired woman with keen, intelligent eyes. Her youth is the most impressive thing about her. She looks like what she was: the attractive wife of a young professional man. One can wonder at the turn of circumstances that brought her out of that role and made her into a person who had to be listened to because she believed so passionately that not only justice and her husband's honor were involved but the honor of her country as well . . .

THE ONLY EVIDENCE directly connecting Sobell with espionage had come from a witness named Max Elitcher, a former college mate of Sobell and Rosenberg. There was no evidence whatsoever of any complicity in **atomic** espionage, and the very fact of his having been tried with the Rosenbergs who were so charged was prejudicial.

Elitcher had admitted having been a Communist. He had denied that affiliation under oath when seeking a government job, and on the stand when he was being cross-examined he admitted that he was frightened on that account and hoped for clemency as a result of testifying for the government.

Of his testimony, on which the conviction of Sobell rested, Professor Sharp has this to say in **Was Justice Done?**:

"He told a tale which does not follow my ideas of effective espionage at all. Does a spy discuss his activities with all his old college chums without finding out where their loyalties lie, and does he keep it up for years without securing any information? How stupid do we assume these people to be?" . . .

From my own study of the Sobell case I was convinced that he could not have been convicted on the testimony of this one man, a man who had the most compelling motive to commit perjury, except for one circumstance. That circumstance was Sobell's alleged "flight to Mexico." . . .

It is a fact that Sobell and his wife went to Mexico in 1950. The case for the prosecution was that Sobell, realizing the threat to the Rosenbergs and himself following the apprehension of Harry Gold as a member of a "spy ring," fled upon learning of Gold's arrest. The Sobells' claim, on the contrary, is that the Mexican vacation had been planned for a long time and that their departure was not flight. By their own admission they did toy with the idea of staying in Mexico. Many other Americans, believing that fascism here was imminent, had done just that, and many are still there, it might be added. The Sobells, according to their story, rejected the idea of staying and were planning to return home. He was seized and brought to the border before he could put the plan to return into action.

AT THE TRIAL the FBI was determined to present Sobell as a fugitive. Mistakenly, I think, he did not take the stand at the trial, and as a result the circumstances of his seizure were not brought out, when they not only might have laid the charge but might have had far-reaching effect. Those circumstances are set forth in an affidavit submitted by the defendant on a motion for a new trial . . .

That request for a new trial, made in 1956, was brought before the same judge who had conducted the first trial. In my opinion that judge, Irving Kaufman, was too involved emotionally to be able to judge that request objectively. He should have referred it to some other judge. Instead, he contemptuously dismissed the motion, and included in his opinion derogatory remarks about Sobell's lawyers. He stated that the motion for a new trial was wholly without merit and castigated the lawyers who had made it for trying to obstruct justice and put our country in a bad light. Again it was illustrated that judges are human. Judge Kaufman dares not admit, even to himself, that injustice may have been done in the Rosenberg and Sobell cases, nor is he the first judge in history who has so sought to close the record.

A STORY TOLD TO ME by Harold Phillips, one of Sobell's attorneys at the first trial, throws light on Judge Kaufman's state of mind at the time of the convictions, as well as it tells something of the jury's thinking. The lawyers were sitting with him, waiting for the verdict, while the jury was out. A message came from the jury asking if they had a right to ask for clemency. Judge Kaufman sent back a curt reply to the effect that he would not be bound by any such recommendation. He turned to Phillips and asked, "Do you know for whom I think they wish to ask for clemency?"

"The woman?" Phillips asked.

"No. Sobell," the judge replied. His idea of justice for Sobell was thirty years in Alcatraz.

But justice has a way of finding its own adherents.

Solace

ON JUNE 6 in Washington Judge Irving R. Kaufman, who sentenced Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death, addressed the graduating class of the FBI National Academy. He thanked the FBI for the protection it had given him and his family during the case.

"During those interminable months," said Kaufman, "my chief solace was the protection of the FBI and the kindness and concern by various members of the bureau. . . ."

ETHEL . . .

If We Die

You shall know, my sons, shall know
why we leave the song unsung,
the book unread, the work undone,
to rest beneath the sod.

Mourn no more, my sons, no more
why the lies and smears were framed,
the tears we shed, the hurt we bore
to all shall be proclaimed.

Earth shall smile, my sons, shall smile
and green above our resting place,
the killing end, the world rejoice
in brotherhood and peace.

Work and build, my sons, and build
a monument to love and joy,
to human worth, to faith we kept
for you, my sons, for you.

ETHEL ROSENBERG
Ossining, N. Y.
January 24, 1953.

(From "The Rosenbergs: Poems of the United States," edited and with an introduction by Martha Millet, Sierra Press, P. O. Box 96, L. I. City 4, N. Y. $1).

. . . and JULIUS

LOUISIANA CASE

Dombrowski attack linked to Jenkins

A SERIES of six articles in the New Orleans **Item** attacking Dr. James Dombrowski of the Southern Conference Educational Fund as a suspected Communist and a "bungler" in the field of race relations is viewed by Louisiana progressives as an attempt to stir up anti-Communist hysteria for the forthcoming trial of Grady and Judy Jenkins under Louisiana's "little Smith Act."

The Jenkinses, young parents who have been active in the fight for desegregation in the state's schools, bus systems, etc., are awaiting a lower court decision on their claims that all state sedition laws have been outlawed by the Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson case. This held that the Smith Act had superseded all such laws in the various states.

Dr. Dombrowski, eminent Southern scholar and liberal, was a witness before the Eastland Committee, which also called the Jenkinses in April, 1956. The late Paul Crouch, whose testimony has been discredited, was the Eastland Committee's witness against Dr. Dombrowski. When the Jenkinses were called, Grady Jenkins refused to answer questions on the basis of the "1st, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th Amendments."

"Everything but the 5th Amendment is overruled, " Eastland declared.

"Well, Senator," Jenkins retorted, "you can just sit up there and overrule until your sharecroppers are freed in Mississippi."

A year later the Jenkinses were arrested. They are now free on bail on charges which, if sustained, could send them to jail for 20 years. Contributions for their defense may be sent to Jack Shulman, Treasurer, 860 Riverside Drive, New York 32, N. Y.

ATROCITY IN ALGERIA

The massacre at Melouza: Who must bear the blame?

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

BOTH THE HORROR and the futility of colonial wars have been underlined anew in Europe's traditional seats of imperialism by the massacre of 300 villagers at Melouza, Algeria. Paris' account of the atrocity was that it was a revenge by one of two resistance groups, the National Liberation Front (FLN), against sympathizers with the "more moderate" Algerian National Movement (MNA) who had reportedly asked for French protection. In Britain as in France all but extreme Left papers played this version straight, and featured President Coty's "appeal to the civilized world" to take France's side against "this hideous terrorism" by "a few bandits."

FLN representatives in Cairo, Djakarta, New Delhi, Tunis and elsewhere formally denied the French charges. They said the MNA had no sympathizers in the Melouza area and suggested the French themselves might have committed the massacre. In London a FLN spokesman told the GUARDIAN that the existence of "MNA districts" anywhere was "purely imaginary . . . MNA represents nobody at all in Algeria; its exiled leader Messali Hadj refused to lead our revolution in 1954; MNA is now just an exiles' 'personality cult' claiming credit for FLN successes, and we consider it counter-revolutionary." The spokesman added that if French troops had dressed up as FLN guerillas to perform the massacre, it would be nothing new; they had been caught doing just that in a "guerilla" raid on an Oran district cattle-fair last year.

STATE DEPT. COOL: Early dispatches from Algeria had quoted a French Capt. Combettes operating near Melouza as saying that the massacred villagers had been entirely peaceful, were "threatened by no one and had asked for no special protection." FLN's New York representative called on UN to investigate in Algeria the behavior of both sides in the struggle. The U. S. State Dept.'s cool reaction to Coty's appeal stimulated fears in Paris official circles of U. S. intervention to "restore order." The pretext would be that, no matter who was mainly responsible for the atrocities, France had shown its impotence to control an area "vital to Western strategy."

Within a few days of the Melouza atrocity, new massacres and torture round-ups of civilians had made it just another "incident" in the Algerian nightmare. In the city of Algiers, where the French had "cleaned up the terrorists," nine passers-by were killed and 100 maimed and wounded by time-bombs concealed in lamp-posts. Meanwhile in neighboring, newly-"independent" Tunisia, French forces moving upon an Algerian refugee center fired on approaching Tunisians, killing seven and severely wounding the head of the Foreign Ministry. As further clashes with French forces were reported, Tunisian Prime Minister Habib Bourghiba said he would appeal to UN to force the French to evacuate their army, "which thinks itself in a conquered territory and behaves like it."

SYSTEMATIC TORTURES: Evidence continued to leak through the censorship that, in their attempt to suppress the Algerian liberation movement, France was equaling or surpassing Nazi Germany in savagery. In a month-old letter to Premier Mollet, which was suppressed and finally brought to light, Algerian Socialists protested against the systematic tortures of men and women carried on, in an Algiers villa once housing the German consulate, by "a group composed mainly of German former SS men." (Publication of the protest coincided with news that 2,500 Frenchmen who served with the SS during the occupation of France were to join in an SS alumni reunion in West Germany.)

In Germany an Algerian nationalist told newsmen that three Algerian doctors had been sentenced to 20 years' hard labor for giving medical aid to wounded guerrillas, and another, Dr. Benzerga, had died after 12 days' torture. Hamburg's **Der Spiegel** (4/24) reported that Hungarian "freedom fighter" refugees in France were being sent with the Foreign Legion for service in Algeria.

THE ALGERIAN LIBERATION ARMY CARES FOR ITS WOUNDED
A young soldier has his hand checked by two nurses

A MARKED CONTRAST: The FLN organs **Résistance Algèrienne** and **Freedom Fighter** said that Foreign Legionnaires had been deserting in droves, giving their arms to the guerrillas and being repatriated to their native countries.

In the Paris review **Esprit** (April, 1957) reservist Robert Bonnaud, who had been serving in Algeria, said that the guerrillas' respecting of disarmed enemies' lives—in contrast to the French forces' killing of prisoners "as a system"—underlined "the paradox of so-called 'rebels' who behave more 'correctly' than the regular army opposing them." He described the arrival at Tebessa of a truckload of wounded prisoners who, piled up "like sacks of coal," were pulled out by the feet and dumped in the barracks yard. Those not already dead from asphyxiation were "massacred in a manner defying any normal imagination but not the Algerian reality."

A LONG HISTORY: FLN's London spokesman told the GUARDIAN that in most of the guerrilla actions ten French soldiers are killed for every "rebel," and that the morale of the opposing forces is in about the reverse proportion. He said an honest UN investigation would make the world aware that the French regime had systematically practised torture ever since Algeria was conquered over a century ago. He recalled the slaughter of 45,000 Algerians in the Constantine region by French troops in 1945, and estimated that since the revolution began in November, 1954, they had murdered 200,000 Algerian civilians. Yet the FLN guerrillas, without any permanent bases, have stood up to a French colonial army three times larger than the one in Indo-China. Today they are a highly organized fighting body with intelligence, supply, medical and communications services operating on a war basis.

THE WHOLE PEOPLE: The FLN expects no military victory of the Dienbienphu type under the conditions of the Algerian struggle. But its hopes of victory are rising daily, based on the political crisis in France and the deepening insecurity of the French forces in Algeria—now "almost complete by day, complete by night."

The FLN claims the support of virtually all the 12 million Algerians in a country which, after a century of French rule, has a million permanently unemployed, an average urban income of $15 per month per family, 4-8 doctors for each 100,000 people in most areas, and no schooling for 2½ million children.

Meanwhile funds are requested urgently for the work of the Algerian Red Crescent (150 E. 56th St., N.Y. 22, N.Y.) in aiding the sick and the 400,000 refugees now in Morocco and Tunisia.

TRIAL BY JURY—A MONTGOMERY FARCE

Two acquitted in church dynamiting despite confession

SHORTLY AFTER the Jan. 10 bombing of a Negro church in Montgomery, Ala., Raymond C. Britt Jr., 28, confessed to detective J. T. Ward that he had handed out dynamite to occupants of "from six to eight cars" in front of Gleen's Grill, a downtown cafe, at about 1:30 that morning; that he had driven the car from which Sonny Kyle Livingston Jr., 19, had tossed a bomb on the church steps. Livingston, in a four-page "free and voluntary statement," told detectives D. J. Shows and Ward:

"The bombs were passed out from that [pick-up truck belonging to a Henry York] to the cars that were waiting for them. They were taken out of a green canvas bag. Mr. Britt and Mr. York passed out the bombs. From there Mr. Britt and I drove to the Hutchinson St. Baptist Church, where I tossed a bomb on the door steps. I had a two-minute fuse on my bomb and heard it go off when I was approximately at the corner . . ."

A CASE OF COLD FEET: Walter L. King, railroad worker and Ku Klux Klansman, testified at the Britt-Livingston trial on May 28 that he had gone to a meeting in Britt's home the night before the bombing; that he had seen dynamite caps and other bombing material there. He got cold feet. He testified: "One man there said he'd kill me if I said anything about it." King said he objected: "You can go to jail for bombing places." A few nights later, following a KKK meeting, King testified, he and Britt stood looking down at a river and Britt said: "That water down there is mighty swift and deep, and you throw something in there and it might not ever come up."

Mrs. E. L. Adams, Mrs. Britt's niece, swore that the Britt couple had eaten supper in the Adams home the night before the bombing, had played cards until about 1 a.m. on the day of the bombing and had then gone to bed there. Mrs. Britt, corroborating that story and thus contradicting her husband's sworn confession, said that he had admitted signing a paper but hadn't known "what was in it."

THE SOUTHERN WAY: In arguments to the lily-white jury defense attorney Harris said a not-guilty verdict would "sound the clarion call, 'You nigras shall not pass'!" He said: "I speak not for Britt and Livingston alone; I speak for every white man, woman and child in Montgomery." Associate defense attorney Hill told the jury that "nigra goon squads" did the bombings to win Northern support and that a guilty verdict "will be a verdict for Martin Luther King and his imps, who seek to destroy our Southern way of life."

Prosecuting attorney Thetford warned the jury that "if you turn these men loose you say to the Ku Klux Klan that it's all right to bomb a Negro church." Such violence was "a sword that cuts both ways, for, the next thing you know, your house and your church will be bombed." He played his trump: a not-guilty verdict "will do more to insure passage of the civil rights bill now before Congress than anything I know."

ON TRIAL BY JURY: After an hour and 35 minutes' deliberation the jury returned a not-guilty verdict. The Montgomery **Advertiser** (5/31) said: "The women cried, the men cheered. The old temporary courtroom on Dexter Av. was jammed and hot, but the spectators, almost to a person, yelled, clapped, shouted and shook hands. Livingston and Britt teamed up and said: 'God was on our side'."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (6/8) said:

"The Alabama case snatches the rug from under the Southerners who have been arguing the Eisenhower bill would deny the right of trial by jury. The action by the Montgomery jury makes it fairly clear that Southern white juries find it impossible to be guided by the law and evidence in cases where the racial question is a factor. If colored people can't get justice in jury trials involving bombing and murder, they will not get justice in jury trials involving denials of the right to vote."

INCREASE IN LEUKEMIA, CANCER, IDIOCY, BLINDNESS AND MORE

French scientists detail radiation effects

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THIS IS WHAT is in store for mankind if our planet's radioactivity continues at the rate it is likely to if nuclear bomb tests continue:

- Leukemia and cancer at a still unknown rate of increase in our time.
- Idiocy, blindness and serious hereditary diseases as well as a whole train of lesser ailments, at a more clearly defined rate of increase for future generations.

These are the conclusions to be drawn from an information session held late last month for 50 newspaper men by ten eminent French physicians, physicists, biologists and atomic specialists. They summed up the present state of knowledge in their fields.

A SOLEMN WARNING: There was nothing spectacular about their presentation; rather there was a tendency to understatement common to all responsible scientists in a field where so many major questions are still unsolved. For these very reasons, what they did say added up to a solemn warning.

Much remains unknown about the effects of atomic radiation on the human body, but some findings have now passed the test of clinical and experimental control. It can be said, with a fair measure of certainty, that:

- Any radiation absorbed by a living cell is always noxious; some damages may be compensated by the organism in time, but others will mark it forever.
- Radiation has a cumulative effect, which means that even exposure to a very small dose of atomic radiation, if repeated often enough, can be a grave hazard to health and to heredity.
- The radio-sensitivity of the human body may vary in "nuclear" cancer and leukemia, but one inescapable effect of atomic radiation is in genetics. In genetics, no dose of atomic radiation is tolerable, and its effect is always irreversible and indelible.

CANCER AND LEUKEMIA: A main difficulty in evaluating the quantitative effects of atomic radiation lies in the fact that the only "experimental" figures on which to base research are those furnished by the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombings and by diseases among persons engaged in radiation work.

On cancer, it has long been known, for example, that one-third of the miners of the Joachimsthal mines, particularly rich in pitchblende, die of cancer of the lung. Also, the rate of cancer is slightly above normal for radiologists constantly exposed to small doses of radiation.

Leukemia was 7 to 10 times more frequent at Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the bombings than is normal for Japan.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki furnished other statistics: Seven out of 11 babies born shortly after the Hiroshima bombings were abnormal; 23% of the pregnant women who lived through the bombings gave birth to stillborn babies or had miscarriages. (The figure drops to 4% for pregnant women some distance from the bomb center.)

WHY ESTIMATES VARY: How to determine the tolerance and the danger level of atomic radiation for the human body? Statistics since Hiroshima 12 years ago are neither broad nor conclusive enough. There are many complicating factors: at this stage, for example, a "nuclear" leukemia cannot be distinguished from an ordinary one. Thus it is easy to understand why scientists and officials have put forward varying estimates on the all-important question of the human tolerance dose.

As a result, advocates of continued bomb tests can always find "scientific proof" somewhere of their absolute harmlessness. But estimates of that dose have been greatly lowered in the last several years; is it impossible that they will be reduced even further as research progresses?

The atomic effects are best known on the sexual glands and the chromosomes. Mutation brought on the chromosomes by atomic radiation may be observed under the microscope. There is no tolerance dose in genetics: the smallest quantity of radiation can produce chromosome mutation, proportional to the radiation received, which has a cumulative effect.

IF THE RATE DOUBLES: The natural radioactivity on our planet today is from 3 to 5 roentgen over a period of 30 years (one generation). On the basis of computations made after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is estimated today that a quantity of 50 roentgen in 30 years would double the rate of spontaneous mutation. This dose, according to one French scientist, is likely in the near future to represent the mean normal radiation from medical and industrial sources to which man will be exposed in all civilized countries.

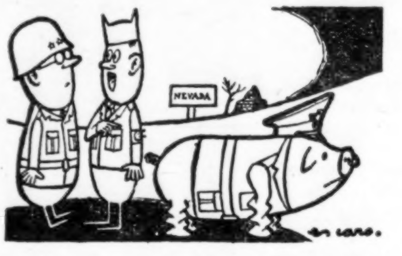
How would doubling the mutation rate affect a country's heredity? According to estimates made here, it would nearly double the rate of grave, dominant hereditary diseases in one generation. After two generations, a given country would count twice as many dwarfs and blind and hemophiles and congenital idiots. No less serious, because it affects public health in a broader measure, would be the increase in small constitutional ailments. In the end, the process of natural selection having been long since eliminated through modern hygiene and medical care, the state of public health would deteriorate progressively; and all the deteriorations would accumulate indefinitely, even if the initial increase in the mutation rate were relatively small.

STOP THE TESTS! One journalist asked how the scientists present felt about the bomb tests.

"I believe," said the chairman, a member of the Academy of Medicine, "that I can speak for all my colleagues if I say that we are all against these tests."

"And even if there were no immediate danger of contamination by the tests in themselves," said one physician, "what with our natural radioactivity, and the amount of radiation the average man gets artificially through mere routine medical check-up, there is danger. Suppose you develop cancer of the stomach a couple of years from now, and you get first a series of X-rays, then a long radium treatment—all this while continued atom tests keep increasing the level of radioactivity. Can you imagine what that would do to any of us?

"No: Stop the tests! That is the first thing to do."

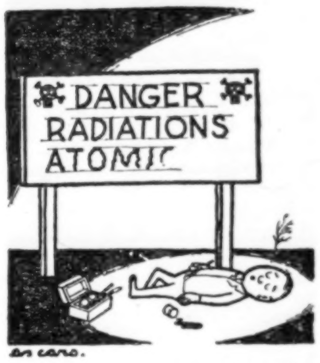


Liberation, Paris
(70 pigs dressed in various kinds of cloth will be used to test the resistance of army uniforms in the Nevada H-tests)

"Does he get a posthumous Purple Heart or Blue Ribbon?"

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Phooey! I wouldn't be seen dead with an old-fashioned Hiroshima-model bomb!"



Liberation, Paris

Pauling quiz off

(Continued from Page 1)

were a criminal record.

Gen. Leslie R. Groves (ret.), who was military head of the first atomic bomb project, brushed off Dr. Pauling: "I don't know what his qualifications are, other than that he has won a Nobel Prize. I would never ask a football coach how to run a major league baseball team."

The N.Y. **World-Telegram** gave a banner headline to a story that Radio Moscow was canvassing U.S. scientists for anti-Bomb declarations, linking the Soviet move to the Pauling petition by noting that some of those solicited by the Russians had also signed the Pauling petition. There was no other link, except in headlines. The paper indicated it had telephoned some of the signers in New York.

OTHERS TALK BACK: Protests grew, too. President of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science Dr. Laurence H. Snyder said the subcommittee was "out chasing rabbits." Concerning President Eisenhower's ruling on the competence of the 2,000 scientists, Dr. Snyder said: "Certainly the men who signed the appeal knew what they were talking about. All of them have intimate knowledge of radiation effects."

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "We don't fight communism by saying that because an eminent scientist got up a petition against continuing tests, he must be a Communist and should be hauled before some Congressional committee."

On June 7, less than 48 hours after the subpena was served on Dr. Pauling, subcommittee counsel Morris announced that the hearing was called off "temporarily" because Dr. Pauling said he could not make it on the assigned date, June 18. Dr. Pauling said he had told the committee he would gladly appear on June 11, 12, 13 or 14 but that the French government had invited him to lecture at the Sorbonne on the 18th and he was due at the Pasteur Institute later in the month. The subcommittee apparently had second thoughts on his Washington lecture. The Washington **Post** said in an editorial that "a deluge of protests" had caused the indefinite postponement of "a hearing which should never have been contemplated in the first place." It said such an inquiry would have violated the right of petition under the First Amendment.

THE HUMAN COST: Meanwhile at the hearing being conducted by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, geneticist Muller said the number of lives throughout the world in future generations that will be "seriously curtailed or injured" as a result of the tests "is in all probability in the hundreds of thousands or millions," though these might seem small when compared with damage from other causes. Dr. James F. Crow of the Univ. of Indiana estimated that present testing might cost mankind a million children in miscarriages or infant deaths.

Dr. Willard Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission shrugged off most of the danger as a calculated risk. He compared fallout radiation to that emanating from crowds in subways radiating on each other, discussed cosmic rays with which Man has lived for ages. At one point Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) reminded Dr. Libby that he had failed to mention the strontium-90 peril, which does not come from age-old cosmic rays but was born with the Bomb fallout. Dr. Libby admitted the peril was new.

Holifield asked: "Why didn't you make the statement yourself, Dr. Libby, instead of making a statement which was misleading? . . . Most of your statements are true but susceptible to a benign interpretation."

The NEA Service

"I don't hear any objections from him!"

THE FACTS OF DEATH: Physicist Ralph Lapp, one of the signers of the Pauling petition, warned that an atomic war would cause such genetic destruction that the government might consider a "sperm bank" to produce less contaminated generations.

The vigor of the scientists' position and mounting public alarm seemed to have won some concessions from the politicians. President Eisenhower in his June 7 press conference said he doubted that the U.S. would ever again drop a bomb as "dirty" as the 1954 "Bravo" burst at Bikini that shocked the world. Though a third "baby bomb" went off in Nevada and more were expected at Christmas Island, statesmen in Washington, London and Moscow were being increasingly reminded of the facts of life—and death.

The mountains call Guardian week-enders

ON THE WEEKEND of June 21-23 the N.Y.-N.J. Guardian Wingding Society will take to the hills. To be precise, it will be the first Guardian Weekend of the season, at Chaits lovely resort at Accord, N.Y., in the Catskills. Wonderful food, magnificent scenery, all sports, gracious hosts and a special Saturday night jamboree with music by Tony Kraber and a behind-the-news talk by the Guardian's Kumar Goshal, just back from a cross-the-country lecture tour.

It's the last call this week. For details on reservations and arrangements, see ad on p. 10.

The High Court

(Continued from Page 1)

not participate.

Lone dissenter was Justice Tom C. Clark who, as Attorney General under President Harry Truman, helped shape the methods and aims of the postwar campaign against "subversion." He wrote: "Unless the Congress changes the rule announced by the Court today, those intelligence agencies of our government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop, for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets." The ruling, he complained, "opens up a veritable Pandora's box of troubles. And all in the name of justice."

The day after the decision was announced Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and a member of the Judiciary Committee, introduced a bill that would nullify the Supreme Court ruling by amending the rules of judicial procedure.

WITCH-HUNT PANICKED: Walter said his bill must be adopted quickly or "we might just as well expect a complete breakdown of our entire internal security." Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) also called for new legislation to kill the Supreme Court ruling.

But Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.) said: "I think the Court was right," and added that it is a "fundamental principle of evidence that a defendant has the right to try to contradict the testimony of witnesses against him."

Newspapers also were divided. The Hearst N.Y. **Mirror** saw the decision as making "it absolutely impossible for any police force, from the FBI to the local constabulary, to find a criminal and bring him to trial." The N.Y. **Daily News** said: "If that decision stands, the power of the FBI, Secret Service, etc., to combat subversives and other criminals will be imperiled." But to the Washington **Post** "the principle underlying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case is an elementary principle of fair play—that an accused person shall have every reasonable means of defending himself."

Inside Hoover's secret file

IN HIS DISSENT in the Jencks case, Justice Clark quoted remarks made by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover to support his "Pandora's Box" argument. He recalled Hoover's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950 urging that the FBI files be kept inviolate. He then quoted Hoover as follows on the nature of the files:

"FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If those details were disclosed, they could be subject to misrepresentation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half-truths and misrepresent facts. The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations and compilation of information . . . are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty. These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be served by the disclosure of their contents . . .

"These files contain complaints, allegations, facts and statements of all persons interviewed. Depending upon the purpose of the investigation, particularly in security cases, they contain, not only background data on the individual but details of his private life . . . the identities of our confidential sources of information and full details of investigative techniques. In short, they consist of a running account of all that transpires.

"For want of a more apt comparison, our files can be compared to the notes of a newspaper reporter before he has culled through the printable material from the unprintable. The files do not consist of proven information alone . . . One report may allege crimes of a most despicable type and the truth or falsity of these charges may not emerge until several reports are studied, further investigation made and the wheat separated from the chaff."

The Hearst N.Y. **Journal-American** was a little slower to react, but on June 6 it had this editorial comment in capital letters: "Whether the majority decision is based upon correct interpretation of the law or not, it is the instant duty of Congress to nullify it."

There was no official comment from Dept. of Justice officials, who were reported studying the decision carefully.

USED IN MATLES CASE: First application of the decision came within 24 hours in a Federal District Court in Rome, Ga., when Judge Frank A. Hooper ruled that the Dept. of Justice must give the defense in a rape case FBI and other prosecution documents. (The case was in a Federal court because the alleged rape, involving three white youths, occurred in a national park).

Second application of it came in New York on June 5 when attorneys for James J. Matles, director of organization for the independent United Electrical Workers, moved for a new trial on the ground that the defense had been denied FBI reports of government witnesses. Matles after a six-week trial was ordered denaturalized on the testimony of FBI informers that he had been a CP member when he acquired citizenship in 1934.

On June 6 John J. Abt and Joseph Forer, attorneys for the Communist Party, asked the U. S. Court of Appeals to make available all FBI reports bearing on testimony of government witnesses against the CP before the Subversive Activities Control Board. A ruling by the Board that the CP must register as a foreign-dominated organization is now on appeal.

In his majority opinion on the Jencks case, Justice Brennan wrote: "The crucial nature of the testimony of Ford and Matusow to the government's case is conspicuously apparent. The impeachment of that testimony was singularly important to the petitioner [Jencks]. The value of the reports for impeachment purposes was highlighted by the admissions of both witnesses that they could not remember what reports [to the FBI] were oral and what written, and by Matusow's admission: 'I don't recall what I put in my reports two or three years ago, written or oral. I don't know what they were'."

JUSTICE REQUIRES IT: On the government's opposition to providing the reports on the sole ground that the defense had not laid a preliminary foundation of inconsistency between the reports and the trial testimony, Justice Brennan said:

"The occasion for determining a conflict cannot arise until after the witness has testified, and . . . the accused is helpless to know or discover conflict without inspecting the reports. A requirement of a showing of conflict would be clearly incompatible with our standards for the administration of criminal justice in the Federal courts and must therefore be rejected. For the interest of the United States in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case, but that justice shall be done."

On the question of whether the presiding judge should first pass on the relevancy of the reports, the majority opinion said: "We hold, further, that the petitioner is entitled to inspect the reports to decide whether to use them in his defense. Because only the defense is adequately equipped to determine the effective use for purpose of discrediting the government's witness and thereby furthering the accused's defense, the defense must initially be entitled to see them to determine what use may be made of them. Justice requires no less."

GOVERNMENT'S CHOICE: It is up to the government to choose, the opinion said, between opening its files or dismissing the case: "The burden is the government's, not to be shifted to the trial judge, to decide whether the public prejudice of allowing the crime to go unpunished is greater than that attendant upon the possible disclosure of state secrets and other confidential information in the government's possession."

The Burton opinion held that the trial judge's definition of the Taft-Hartley Law phrases "member of the Communist Party" and "affiliated with such party" were both defective and ground enough for a new trial.

In another decision on June 3 the Supreme Court agreed to hear re-argument in its next Fall term in the Smith Act "membership" cases of Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales.

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Well put

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Some of us have heaven here and so many of us have hell. Poor has to pay taxes for rich and his war. Rich men's war, poor men's fight.

Joe Shoemaker

Logical thing to do

WANTAGH, L.I.

Ooops! Sorry the renewal was late. The last thing I want in this world is for anything to happen to my only source of logical happenings.

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China policy

(Continued from Page 1)

Chincom list and quietly trading. Some U.S. firms have also been trading with China through third countries.

West German trade with China, for example, last year amounted to $90,000,000, up 25% over 1955. British exports to China have been running about $28,000,000 a year. Lloyd said it was hoped to double British exports to China this year; British businessmen were more optimistic.

KOREA AND VIETNAM TOO: Two years ago, a business delegation said after a visit to China that Britain could export annually goods worth $200,000,000 to China if she could accept and fulfill orders China was ready to place. After Lloyd's announcement, Natl. Manufacturers Union president C.S. Garland said the government's action "should open wide and profitable markets to Britain exports." He was not being unduly optimistic: Lloyd's announcement included North Korea and North Vietnam too.

But if the hopes of British exporters are to be fully realized, Lloyd will have to go much further. Labour MP Ian Mikardo pointed out (London **Tribune**, 6/7) that the British decision will bring only marginal benefits to British businessmen. It will allow China to buy direct what she has been buying through third parties, thereby increasing British shipping income and partially increasing British exports. For "a real increase in total volume" of exports, Mikardo said, Britain needed "a serious slashing of **all** embargo lists."

The Peking **People's Daily, Reuters** reported (6/8), also pointed out that Britain still would have to consult the U.S. about the quantity of certain goods she could sell to China. It found that Britain's relaxation of trade embargo "was not thorough enough."

Britain's decision set off a chain reaction. France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and even Greece jumped on the China bandwagon.

QUESTION OF JAPAN: Powerful Southern political and economic interests were among the most vocal proponents of a drastic reappraisal. "Involved in this," William S. White reported (N.Y. **Times**, 6/4), "is a desire to turn towards Communist China those Japanese textile exports that now compete with U.S. goods and, more fundamentally, to lift from the U.S. some of the burden of underwriting the Japanese economy." Japan last year exported to the U.S. 200,000,000 square yards of cloth, not counting finished garments, including 1,500,000 dozen shirts.

In the Senate, in fact, a group led by Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) contended that, since China will no longer be deprived of a wide variety of Western goods, the U.S. might take a "new look" at its China policy and explore the availability of the China market to American industrialists.

STATE DEPT. FIRM: Although even Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.), often called "the Senator from Formosa," only mildly criticized the British decision, the State Dept. remained adamant. The U.S. was "most disappointed" in the British action, a May 31 communique said, and "the U.S. contemplates no change in its policy of total embargo on trade with Communist China." Supporting this view, columnist David Lawrence (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/31) woefully remarked: "Sometimes it seems that, if the Communists only wait long enough, they will out-trade and outmaneuver the West."

In a statement which at best suggested a lack of contact with the State Dept., President Eisenhower at his June 5 press conference expressed sympathy with the British action. He said that in the long run trade "cannot be stopped . . . You are going to have either just authorized trade or you are going to have clandestine trade."

But neither the President nor the Johnson group seemed willing to take the initiative in launching a full-fledged review of Washington's China policy.

"A DISMAL POLICY": The British action and the Taiwan demonstration, Walter Lippmann said (6/6), have created "a general feeling that even if our China policy is still the best possible policy, it has become a poor and dismal policy nevertheless."

Lippmann said that "there is almost certainly an adequate majority to give Peking the China seat in the UN," and that the Chinese in Taiwan would inevitably make a deal with the mainland "after Chiang goes."

"Our attitude toward trade with China and our attitude toward letting American newspapermen go to China," Lippmann said, "are part of [a] holding operation. They are a rather desperate and forlorn attempt to keep the Chinese in Taiwan from coming to terms with the Chinese on the mainland."

If, in the face of reality, Washington insists on continuing its "holding operation," the world will see—as the Washington **Post** said (6/1)—that it is not Britain but "the U.S. that is going it alone, in glorious isolation."

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EVALUATION IN NEGRO PRESS

Was Washington Pilgrimage worth it? The answer is a resounding 'Yes!'

By Eugene Gordon

THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE for Freedom to Washington this week is a month old in the history of social struggle in the U. S. That reflector of community opinion, the Negro press, has begun its evaluation: What did the Pilgrimage accomplish? Was it worthwhile?

The Pilgrimage "demonstrated one thing that was significant," said the Norfolk **Journal and Guide** (5/25). "It showed that the NAACP is not **now** and **never has been alone** in the fight for human and civil rights": religious leaders were there "in large numbers"; AFL-CIO unions "were there officially"; members of the Natl. Council of Negro Women came "from many parts of the country."

To Pittsburgh **Courier** writer William G. Nunn Sr. (6/1), "two things stand out in bold relief" as an aftermath of the Pilgrimage: first, a "challenge to both major political parties that in the future both will be judged by what they DO, rather than by what they SAY, on legislation directly affecting Negro Americans"; second, a sentiment that the Pilgrimage be "an annual event, to balance the books on Negro progress for each 12-month period."

A LEADER EMERGES: N. Y. **Amsterdam News** managing editor James L. Hicks (6/1) wrote: "Dr. Martin Luther King . . . has emerged from the Pilgrimage . . . as the Number One leader of 16,000,000 Negroes in the U. S. This in itself is a major accomplishment, for it has cleared the confused air as to Negro leadership and has provided the Negro in the street with a peg to hang his hat on." Hicks said King's "sudden rise" had challenged many "so-called" Negro leaders and that ". . . many among that leadership did a good job of dragging their feet in the March on Washington."

Associated Negro Press Washington correspondent Alice Dunnigan (6/1) wrote that Negro Washington, three weeks after the Pilgrimage, "still has its head hung in shame for the lack of participation in this spectacular" and many were "still searching for excuses to justify their apathy."

THIS IS WASHINGTON: Mrs. Dunnigan had an explanation:

"[Negro] Washington is often referred to as the city of Cadillacs. And the Cadillac crowd is sometimes described as doctors and racketeers. But, truthfully, the top crust of Washington society might be classified as professionals and government employes. This, to a great extent, accounts for the inert fighting spirit prevailing in this city. The professionals receive fairly decent salaries. They have their comfortable homes and fine cars. Their well-dressed children have the opportunity to attend the schools of their choice. So they develop a feeling of smugness and complacency that permits them to loll peacefully in comfort and let the rest of the world go by. As for the second group—those [Government] gals and guys—they receive fair salaries but work in constant fear. Their jobs are never stable and their future is never secure. Their agencies must each year undergo an economy wave, and each employe is fearful of being 'riffed.' Every Negro employe realizes that whenever there is 'reduction-in-force' he is apt to be the first to get the ax."

ACTION IS NEEDED: The **Courier's** Nunn suggested that if Washington Negroes didn't want the Pilgrimage its sponsors should move it "to New York's Yankee Stadium or Chicago's Soldiers Field" next year: "You'd get 100,000 Negroes—and whites—in either city, and the noise it would create would be heard just as easily in Washington, D.C."

New York City Councilman Earl Brown, an **Amsterdam News** columnist, said (6/1) that regardless of its shortcomings the Pilgrimage "was a memorable event," for never before had so many Negroes "voluntarily gathered in one spot to demonstrate their will to fight for civil rights and human dignity." But, he added:

If the Pilgrims had visited their congressmen and "demanded action on the civil rights bills"; if they had "demonstrated quietly but forcibly" around the White House; "if they had drawn up a resolution and passed it" demanding action by the politicians—"the prayers intoned at the Lincoln Memorial would have been implemented in a way that would at least have got more attention and more press."

A CLEAR WARNING: The Chicago **Defender** (6/1) acknowledged that "the number of zealous participants [was] disappointingly small . . . but the circumstances and the place made the Pilgrimage a memorable event." It said:

"The Pilgrimage is a warning under the guise of religious fervor that black America is ready for the ultimate test—that the Negro is either a full citizen or he is not. There is no twilight zone."

The Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch** (5/23) concluded that "the American Negro is ready to take action to secure [his] freedom . . . The 27,000 Negroes . . . are thinking in terms of freedom and justice not alone for the 16 or 20 million American Negroes, but for all Americans and for the colonial peoples seeking to be masters in their own homes."

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BOOKS

The Lamont Case

THE LAMONT CASE* is an absorbing account of the winning of a battle in the war against mccarthyism. It is superbly spun out of official documents, court decisions, legal briefs, editorials and a brisk running commentary by Philip Wittenberg, lawyer in the case and editor of the book.

The record opens on Sept. 22, 1953, with the service on Corliss Lamont of a subpena to appear within 24 hours before the "Senate Permanent Subcommittee On Investigations Of The Senate Committee On Government Operations." This mouthful of title turns out to be one bestriding individual—the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy. The session, held in the U.S. Courthouse in Foley Square, New York, is executive, supposedly secret. But McCarthy calls in reporters and leaks his own distorted version of the testimony. In the accurate transcript of the questions and answers as reproduced in this book, we witness the spirit and meaning of American democracy in defiance of inquisition.

Lamont stands on the First Amendment. He refuses to answer any questions about his books or writings, and challenges "the power and jurisdiction of this committee to inquire into: (a) My political beliefs; (b) Any other personal and private affairs; (c) My religious beliefs; (d) My associational activities."

HISTORY COME ALIVE: There ensues a dramatic series of big and little scenes which add up to living history:

Lamont insisting on his right to affirm instead of taking an oath. McCarthy purringly assuring Lamont and his lawyer by telegram that their appearance in Washington on Sept. 28, 1953, is postponed, then blandly inquiring on Sept. 28, "Is Mr. Lamont here?", and having the record read, "There was no response." Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) confessing to a weird senatorial compulsion ("I have never voted against a contempt citation resolution in the Senate") and keeping his compulsion happy by upholding McCarthy's citation of Lamont. Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.) bravely admitting his acquaintanceship with Lamont ("this man") since he was 10 years of age, then offering the untroubled suggestion that "the most effective action the Senate could take in this case, about which I have thought a great deal . . . would be to cite him for contempt and let the court decide." Sens. Lehman (D-N.Y.) and Langer (R-N.D.) speaking out against the resolution. The final vote: 71 for citation, 3 opposed (Dennis Chavez, D-N.M., Langer and Lehman) and 22 not voting.

CORLISS LAMONT

THE HONORED PLACES: The role of "hero" of the Lamont case is large enough to give honored place to several. There are Lamont, Abraham Unger and Albert Shadowitz who, on different dates, each challenged McCarthy on the First Amendment and whose individual indictments were considered by the courts as a single proceeding. There is U.S. District Judge Edward Weinfeld who, in the face of certain castigation and calumny from reactionary quarters, dismissed the indictments on technical grounds on July 27, 1955. There are the judges of the U.S. Circuit Court for the Second District (Charles E. Clark, Carroll C. Hinks and Sterry R. Waterman) who, on Aug. 14, 1956, upheld Judge Weinfeld's action.

The Government, twice defeated, threw in the sponge by failing to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. After almost three years, an important and hard-won victory was achieved—containing within itself both the promise and the need of a larger victory to come.

BASIC ISSUES REMAIN: The Lamont Case points up the recent role of the judiciary in beginning to reaffirm the civil liberties of the American people amidst legislative and executive attacks. Without detracting from this very welcome and vital development in the courts, it is essential to recognize that the opinions dismissing the indictments did not squarely meet the decisive issue. The indictments were dismissed on the ground that they failed to set forth certain elements required to make them legally effective. But the issue is not merely one of proper legal pleading in indictments for contempt of Congress. The basic issue is the inviolability of the constitutional freedoms of speech, press, assembly and religion under the First Amendment.

Lamont and his colleagues clearly and firmly urged these fundamental grounds in their briefs. But Judge Weinfeld, in dismissing the indictments, said: "This disposition makes it unnecessary to determine the constitutional . . . questions so vigorously pressed for disposition by the defendants." And the Circuit Court, in its opinion, said: "We do not reach . . . the constitutional questions raised by the defendants."

The Lamont Case helps bring nearer the day when, as they must, the questions will be reached—and answered in favor of the Bill of Rights.

—Arthur Schutzer

**THE LAMONT CASE, History of a Congressional Investigation. Edited with commentary by Philip Wittenberg; introduction by Horace M. Kallen. Horizon Press, 220 W. 42d St., N.Y.C. 36, N.Y. $5.*

A. J. Muste's autobiography in 'Liberation'

THE monthly magazine **Liberation**, a spokesman for non-violent, libertarian radicalism in the U.S., has announced that its June 1957 issue will carry the first installment of A. J. Muste's autobiography.

Titled **Not So Long Ago**, the autobiography is a personal and historical document. For more than five decades A. J. Muste has been close to the heart of labor, socialist and pacifist movements in the U.S.

Sample copies of **Liberation** will be sent free on request. A four-month trial subscription is $1, a year's subscription is $3. Write: **Liberation**, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N.Y.